

**THE KLUANE AREA:
AN INTERIM REVIEW OF
THE LITERATURE OF ITS
HUMAN HISTORY**

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REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE OF ITS
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1. Introduction

This must be considered an interim report, as in the time available to date for research it has not been possible to assess all the known material relating to Kluane National Park and its environs, which for the purposes of this undertaking may be defined as the Shakwak-Dezadeash country. However, the principal authorities on the area are certainly included in the review.

Because of the diversity of Kluane's human history, the literature is broken down into categories, the significance and inter-relationship of which is defined in the introductory background essay.

For easy reference, the material is relisted in bibliographic form at the end of the report.

2. Background

The rugged country now occupied by Kluane National Park and its environs was one of the last areas in the interior of this continent to be explored by Europeans, but it was one of the first to be occupied by man. The Shakwak Valley, a great structural

depression that separates the outliers of the St. Elias Mountains from the Kluane Plateau, was long assumed to be one of the routes followed during the first migrations from Asia to America, but it was not until the Alaska Highway provided relatively easy access to this corridor that the early occupation of the region could be confirmed. The scientific investigation of southwestern Yukon began almost as soon as the highway was completed, and it has continued ever since.

To date, a few archaeological sites have been located in the Kluane area, and from the evidence that they have yielded several cultural phases have been identified. By correlating this evidence with geological and geobotanical findings, it has been possible to reconstruct tentatively the prehistory of the region, though there are still gaps, differences of opinion, and a need for further information. It is generally agreed, however, that the first people moved into the Shaskwak Valley soon after the final retreat of the glaciers that over-rode it during the last great ice age. At the beginning of the period of silt deposition that succeeded the glaciation - possibly about 4000 B.C., though the dating of the early artifacts is admittedly still very imperfect - a small group of hunters using a few primitive tools paused briefly on the edge of a dry terrace near the mouth of Gladstone Creek, leaving a few stone chips to mark their passage. The country was predominantly grasslands

and tundra; and the prey the hunters sought was bison, elk, muskox, and caribou. The climate was probably cooler than it is today.

Over the next 3000-4000 years, other small groups moved on to this and similar sites, remaining perhaps for a summer, hunting, fishing (as evidenced by net sinkers), butchering game, preparing skins, and making crude stone artifacts. The climate was gradually warming, boreal forest growth was invading the grasslands in the river valleys and along the lakeshores, and the bison became the dominant animal species as the elk and muskox gradually disappeared. About 400 A.D. a volcanic explosion blanketed the region with ash, after which came a further period of silt deposition, the continuing spread of the boreal forest, the disappearance of the bison as the grasslands were overgrown, and the establishment of moose as the dominant species in the forested areas.

The pattern of human occupation also gradually changed. The groups became larger, often consisting now of several families, and they moved less frequently; they hunted with bows and arrows, trapped small game, and fished with spears as well as nets, probably through the ice. Their tools became more complex, as they learned to use bone, antler and copper as well as stone, and to grind, hammer and polish as well as to chip, drill, split and groove. They developed adzes and beaver tooth gouges, which enabled them

to work wood and make snowshoes and arrow shafts, and they probably sewed with copper needles and pins, and decorated their clothes with copper ornaments. The Kluane area became the home of the Southern Tutchone people, and their evolving culture was essentially that which the first white men to enter the country encountered.

Traders of the Hudson's Bay Company were the earliest strangers in the Yukon basin, crossing the portage between Frances Lake and the Pelly in 1840, and remaining until their expulsion by the Chilkat Indians from Fort Selkirk in 1854. They did not reach Kluane, though Robert Campbell passed the mouth of the White River in 1851, and named it for the milky turbidity of its waters. Probably the first white man to see the imposing bulwark of the St. Elias Mountains was Arthur Harper, a trader who entered the country by the Rat River route from Fort McPherson in 1873, and who in his first winter travelled up the White River by dog team in a search for the source of copper nuggets which some Indians of Fort Yukon had showed him. He did not find any copper, but reported he and his companions "killed plenty of moose and lived like Kings all winter."

William Ogilvie, D.L.S., making an "instrumentally measured traverse" in 1887 for the purpose of locating the Yukon-Alaska

boundary on the river below Fortymile, tried to ascend the White "to discover more especially the facilities it offered in the event of a survey of the International Boundary being undertaken," but he could make no headway with his canoes against the strong current of the shallow, braided channels. It was not in fact until 1891 that two significant penetrations of the Kluane region were finally accomplished.

Both these explorations involved crossings of the Alaska panhandle. One of them was by Frederick Swatka, accompanied by Charles Willard Hayes of the United States Geological Survey, who arrived at Fort Selkirk - which had been re-established by Harper in 1889 - by way of the Taku and the Teslin, and continued overland to Soolai Pass, which they crossed into the Copper River drainage system, and made their way downstream to the coast. Hayes made a careful sketch of their route, using native names learned from the few families they encountered - Nisling, Klutassin, Kluantu, Klutlan, and Donjek. It was the first mapping undertaken in the Kluane region.

At the same time that Swatka and Hayes were plodding westward, two other explorers, E.J. Glave, a journalist, and his "man of all work," Jack Dalton, were also entering the country, though in the opposite direction and by a different route. Starting at Pyramid Harbour, near the present town of Haines, they travelled with four horses by way of the Chilkat Pass to a lake that Glave

in his dispatches referred to phonetically as "Tloo Army." After venturing out on this lake in a dugout canoe they found on the shore, and almost becoming the first white victims of its capricious and violent winds, they made their way back to their starting point. This journey demonstrated the superior carrying capacity of the white men's strange beasts of burden, and it marked the initial crumbling of the trade monopoly of the coastal Tlingit Indians, that even the powerful Hudson's Bay Company had been unable to break.

For the next few years, however, most of the white activity in the Territory remained concentrated in the gold fields at Forty-mile, with the Yukon River being the usual route of entrance or egress, though Jack Dalton worked on the trail that was named for him, and collected toll from the small herds of cattle and the handful of miners that used it. It was the Klondike strike that broke the dam. Many of the experienced prospectors who answered that siren call, only to find the ground on Bonanza and the other creeks in the new diggings already closed to them, fanned out over the rest of the country, including the Kluane area. Here in the early 1900's placer gold was discovered in some of the creeks that flowed out of the St. Elias Mountains into Kluane Lake. The usual period of frantic gold rush activity followed; suddenly the trappings of civilization were imposed on the lives of the Indians who lived there.

The first problem which the miners had to solve was that of access, and a road of sorts was built from Whitehorse, the inland terminus of the recently-completed White Pass railway, to Christmas Bay, near the south end of Kluane Lake. A police detachment was established there, and on the Dalton Trail, and trading posts were built at Burwash and Champagne to look after the needs of the miners and the Indians alike. Big game hunters were attracted to the area, and mountain climbers, after finally conquering Mt. St. Elias in 1897, turned their attention to the jumble of peaks that constitute the greater part of the present Kluane National Park. The survey of the international boundary along the 141st meridian of longitude, begun in 1907, was completed from the Arctic Ocean to the northern edge of the St. Elias Mountains by 1912; and immediately the survey of the "land of desolation" between the White River and Mt. St. Elias was begun, a line which crosses the structural grain of this extremely rugged terrain. The task was completed in 1913, and was celebrated with one of the International Boundary Commission's usual prosaic and matter-of-fact reports.

World War I had little impact on the Kluane region, nor did the period between the wars, as the country was remote and detached from the mainstream of events. On the larger stage of World War II, however, the Yukon was no longer remote, and the Alaska Military Highway followed in part the Shikwak Valley, that most ancient of

routes. Thousands of men and machines churned and fought their way towards Kluane Lake, and on November 20, 1942, at Soldiers' Summit on a hillside overlooking that body of water - a location within the physical boundaries of the park - the last linkup was made, and the official opening ceremonies for the pioneer road were held. Nothing in the Shawkak corridor would ever be quite the same again.

The beneficial effect of the opening of the highway on archaeological research in southwestern Yukon has already been noted, but scientists and planners in many other disciplines were also quick to take advantage of the improved access. Early recognition was given to the possibility of a park in the area, and the first land reserve for this purpose was gazetted in 1942, though the original order was later subjected to several revisions. In the summer of 1943 Mr. James Smart, Controller, National Parks Bureau, made the rather hazardous trip up the highway to Burwash Landing (the road was blocked beyond White River) to carry out field investigations "of the Kluane Lake and St. Elias Mountain reservation as a possible National Park, and a study of the scenic and recreational possibilities of the adjacent lands through which the Highway passed." He also drove part of the Haines Road, which was still under construction, and reported favourably on the potential of the Dezadeash-Kluane area.

Early consideration was also given by the government to the agricultural potential of the Kluane region, and the possibility of establishing there an experimental farm that would continue the research carried out at Swede Creek, near Dawson City, between 1917 and 1925. In June 1944 Dr. A. Leahey, of the Field Husbandry Division of the Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, led an exploratory survey into the southern Yukon, which after a thorough examination of the Takhini-Dezadeash area, selected an 800-acre tract of virgin land at Pine Creek, near Mile 1019 on the Alaska Highway, as a suitable site for an experimental substation. The clearing of the land, and the erection of the first buildings began in October of the same year.

Other developments followed. After the war, when the highway was opened to civilian traffic, facilities for travellers were gradually established and improved, and tourism became a burgeoning industry, with a generally constant growth throughout the postwar period. Kluane Lake, as one of the prime scenic locations on the entire highway system, and also as a good fishing spot, was an early beneficiary of this new industry.

The easier access also encouraged a surge in mountaineering activity. Between the wars, and particularly during the depression years, mountain climbing in the St. Elias Range became

the province of an "enthusiastic few," though the period was not without its great achievements, capped by the first climb of Mt. Logan in 1925. In the 1950's, however, activity increased, and there have been few years since in which mountaineering parties have not been in the St. Elias Mountains. In 1965 a moving event occurred when Senator Robert Kennedy climbed the peak named for his assassinated brother, President John F. Kennedy. The most significant climbing for Canadians, however, was that of two years later, when the Yukon Alpine Centennial Expedition was organized to celebrate this country's one hundredth year. The interest of climbers in the area has not waned since.

3. The Literature

The events that shaped the history of Kluane National Park and its environs have been documented in books of adventure, magazine articles, technical journals, scientific treatises, and government reports, with the latter category probably being the largest single source of information. As already pointed out, the many aspects of this history have led to a decision to review and assess the material by categories, and to list them also in bibliographic form at the end of the report. Areas in which it is known that more work must be done are clearly indicated,

(a) Prehistory

Some of the newest and most fascinating information

relating to Kluane that is at present emerging is the prehistory that is being pieced together by specialists in this field. As new finds are made, the concept of the beginnings of life in this area are constantly changing, and the final answers have by no means been arrived at. The literature of this category gives some indication of early archaeological work in Kluane, and also describes more recent finds and their presently accepted interpretations.

Frederick Johnson's "An Archaeological Survey Along the Alaska Highway, 1964," published in American Antiquity, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1946, reports that the first discovery along the highway of evidence of prehistoric man, was made at the Little Arm site on the southwest shore of Kluane Lake. This is followed by the finding of more artifacts at a site identified as 1074 "after the nearest Highway milepost," and at Pine Creek. Johnson points out that his work was carried out in collaboration with a botanist, Hugh M. Raup, and a geologist, Charles Denney, which "made it possible to develop hypotheses that had considerable depth."

In the same year J.D. Leechman, a noted Canadian

anthropologist, recorded further finds along the same section of the highway made in 1945. He described these briefly in an article "Prehistoric Migration Routes Through the Yukon," which appeared in the Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 27, 1946. His main theme is the relationship of the Kluane finds to the early migrations through Shawkak Valley, and probably the chief importance of his work in relation to the human history of the area is his reminder that the early migrations were not a conscious process or a continuous journey to a deliberate goal, but rather a "diffusion" throughout the district. "It may be objected that this is altogether too slow a process," he wrote, "but an average of as little as two miles a year would carry people from the Yukon to the bottom of South America in as little as five thousand years."

Another treatise on early migrations, more technical in approach, was published by Richard S. MacNeish in 1959. Titled "A Speculative Framework of Northern North American Prehistory as of April 1959," it appeared in Anthropologica, Vol. 1, 1959. While this work refers only briefly to the Kluane area, identifying the artifacts from the Little Arm site discovered by Johnson

as belonging to what the author calls the Northwest Microblade tradition, it is useful in that it places the prehistory of at least one Kluane site in a broader setting. MacNeish was soon to expand this approach, and produce a wide-ranging and authoritative interpretation of the archaeological sequences in the Kluane area.

Leechman in his article had expressed the hope that more detailed publication of the Kluane work would eventually be forthcoming, and the munificence of the R.S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology of Andover, Massachusetts, finally made this possible. The Foundation had sponsored Johnson in his 1944 investigation; it now mounted in collaboration with Harvard University the Andover Harvard Yukon Expedition, in which Johnson, Raup and MacNeish all participated. It also published in 1964 the findings of this expedition, in the form of a two-volume report. Johnson and Raup's Investigations in Southwest Yukon: Geobotanical and Archaeological Reconnaissance and MacNeish's Investigations in Southwest Yukon: Archaeological Excavations, Comparisons and Speculations provide the most comprehensive account of the region that had appeared up to this time.

The first of these works concerns itself with the geography and historic geology of the area, and with a primary description and a tentative assessment of the archaeological material, with emphasis on its geological and botanical inter-relationships. The treatise by MacNeish on the other hand, concentrates more fully on the archaeological data, and includes a more ambitious interpretation of its significance, and a comparison of the Yukon phases and complexes with those of the surrounding areas. The writing in both reports is relatively jargon-free, and though a knowledge of ancient technology is a prerequisite to an understanding of portions of them, the description of the post glacial epoch is a fascinating one, that cannot help but add to an understanding of the region.

Johnson while in the country made some attempt to carry out ethnological research at Burwash Landing in 1944 and 1948, but found that the natives had little idea of their tribal affiliations. About all he derived from his efforts was "pleasant conversations," but he added that "problems of identification, as well as many others, will be solved by Catherine McClellan, who recently has spent considerable time in the region, par-

ticularly the winter of 1962-63."

The result of McClellan's researches was published by the National Museums of Canada in 1975, as an impressive two-volume work with the title My Old People Say. This account, covering the twilight zone between the end of prehistory and the beginning of recorded events, is based not only on the field work of 1962-63 mentioned by Johnson, but also on investigations carried out in 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1954, 1965, 1966 and the winter of 1968. The well-written text is the distillation of scores of interviews and informal talks with the elders of the Southern Tutchone people, and a careful sifting of the oral traditions that were the only link of these people with their past. The product is what can only be described as a monumental if possibly somewhat idealistic reconstruction of the native lifestyle in this region as it was just before the white men came.

McClellan emphasizes that though the natural environment of these people was impressive and stimulating, it was also demanding, requiring ingenuity and endurance to survive. She was well aware that she had made only a beginning in recording the many facets and

rythms of the life of the Southern Tutchone, and that there was still much to learn. "This book cannot really have a conclusion...." she wrote. "In fact, given the Yukon Indians' high sensitivity to other peoples and their marked order of adaptability to both new material culture and new ideologies, it seems probable that in this century they will achieve a different integration from that of the last. But I hope that, whatever happens, they will always maintain an appreciation of what it is that their old people say."

William Bates Workman, in an imposing doctoral dissertation of over 700 pages completed at the University of Wisconsin in 1974, wrote yet another assessment of this period. Using the ambitious title Prehistory of the Aishihik-Kluane Area, Southwest Yukon Territory, Canada, Workman begins with an overview, somewhat blunter in tone than that of McClellan, of previous archaeological and ethnological work in the region, and then describes his own fieldwork undertaken in 1968. Workman did not hesitate to draw freely on the authorities that preceded him, but he is meticulous in acknowledging his sources, and apparently received generous co-operation, as many of his quotations are from

McClellan's "unpublished field notes." His analyses soon became a springboard for further work by the author on the prehistory of the area.

Two much shorter unpublished manuscripts, completed in 1972 by researchers Michael Gates and Frances Roback, provide information on a more specialized aspect of this period. "An Archaeological and Ethnohistoric Study of the Tatshenshini River Basin, Southwest Yukon," is an account of a small pocket of Southern Tutchone people who inhabited part of the Tatshenshini basin, and of the significance of the intercultural trading process they indulged in, and of Nesketahin, the only year-round habitation occupied by the Southern Tutchone people. Gates and Roback's second paper "Ethnoarchaeology of the Tatshenshini River Basin, Preliminary Report," also is concerned with this area.

This same year Frederica de Laguna's Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit was published in three parts by the Smithsonian Institution Press. There are some useful accounts in this immense report of contacts between the Yakutat (Dry Bay) Tlingit and the Southern Tutchone, a relation-

ship that appears to have had more elements of mutual respect about it than was usually the case in the contacts between the peoples of the coast and the peoples of the interior. There is also a good description of the Alsek River, and the abandoned settlements on it below Nesketahin that Glave and Dalton encountered when they first entered the country.

In 1974 the annual meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association was held in Whitehorse, and Workman was among those who presented papers. He described his "Continuity and Change in the Prehistoric Record from the Aishihik-Kluane Region, Southwest Yukon, Canada," as a progress report, based on a re-analysis of available evidence, "which can be viewed as a third approximation of the prehistory of the area," and which modified the "tentative assessments" of both Johnson and Raup, and McNeish. Workman proposed no radical re-definition of the post-glacial phases in Kluane, but rather an adjustment of details primarily technical in nature.

Other material relating to this period includes Workman's 1973 paper "The Cultural Significance of a Volcanic Ash Explosion... in Yukon About 1400 Years Ago;"

a further discussion of the volcanic ash deposits by Stephen R. Capps in a U.S.G.S. report "The Chisana-White River District, Alaska," published in 1916; McClellan's "Feuding and Warfare Among Northwestern Athapaskans," published by the Canadian Ethnology Service in 1975; and Hugh Bostock's 1969 G.S.C. paper on "Kluane Lake, Y.T.: Its Drainage and Allied Problems." Copies of this material are in the course of being obtained, but have not yet been received.

(b) The First White Men

The white men brought to Yukon the first written records of its exploration and development. They wrote with uneven literary skills and varying degrees of prejudice, but they wrote at first hand, and sometimes with considerable flair and freshness. The Kluane area, fortunately, was reasonably well served by the writing of its first explorers.

Julie Cruikshank's Through the Eyes of Strangers, prepared at the request of the Government of Yukon and the Yukon Archives in 1974 is a study of nineteenth century Indian land use in the Territory, and the need for mobility and adaptability by the natives to contend

with the fluctuations in game and the other challenges of an often harsh and unpredictable environment. This report is a useful tool in the study of the shadowy transition from prehistory to the historical period. Cruikshank emphasizes that the trails that linked various parts of the Yukon were important as part of the land use regime; but they were also important for the strangers entering the country. One of the three major access routes from the coast skirted the eastern side of the Kluane area, but it was not until 1891 that the Chilkat Pass was traversed by a whiteman.

The man was Edward James Glave, a journalist and lecturer who had spent considerable time in Africa, but who was persuaded by Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper to join an "Exploring Expedition" that the paper was sending to Alaska. He was accompanied by Jack Dalton, whose name is the one most often remembered in connection with this journey. It was Glave, however, whose vivid and very readable dispatches first introduced this country to American newspaper readers.

The two men actually made two entries into the region. In 1890 they climbed the Chilkoot Pass and left the country by travelling in a native dugout canoe down

the Alsek (Tatshenshini) River to the ocean. In 1891 they returned with four packhorses, and got as far as "Tloo Army" Lake by way of the Chilkat Pass. Under the heading "Our Alaska Expedition" Glave wrote 19 dispatches for the paper, the first of which appeared on April 12, 1890, and the last on January 10, 1891. The account of the second trip, "Pioneer Packhorses in Alaska," appeared in two installments in The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine in 1892. Glave's almost rhapsodical comments on the unexpectedly lush country in which they found themselves, and his descriptions and sketches of the natives he encountered, are a notable introduction to the written record of this region.

Charles Willard Hayes of the United States Geological Survey also wrote of the Kluane area in 1892. He accompanied Frederick Swatka into the area in 1891, reaching Fort Selkirk by way of the Taku and the Teslin, and then crossing the St. Elias Mountains by a pass between the headwaters of the White River and those of the Copper River drainage system. The country between Fort Selkirk and the mountains, Hayes noted, "had never been penetrated by a white man, and lakes, rivers and mountains which appear on many maps are the products of geographer's imagination. Across this unknown region a track survey

was made," adding that the line between Fort Selkirk and the mountains was "carefully paced," and that as each end of it was tied to points located by astronomic observations, "the location of intermediate points cannot be far out of the way." It was admittedly a "hasty reconnaissance," but in view of the lack of knowledge of the area "such observations as were made possess a value out of proportion to their completeness." Hayes read his paper to the members of the National Geographic Society in February, 1892, and it was published in The National Geographic Magazine on May 15, 1892.

These explorations did not change the status of this region as a back-door entry to the Yukon; the mainstream of traffic continued to be by the Chilkoot Pass and the Yukon River, and most of the activity in Canada continued to be concentrated in the Fortymile area. Jack Dalton, after a brief absence following the packhorse trip, returned to Haines Mission where he opened a trading post and hotel, and began to develop the trail that was given his name, on which he also eventually built Dalton Post or Dalton House. After the Klondike discovery the majority of the stampeders continued to use the Chilkoot Pass, with its steep but short climb and its long water passage. Traffic on the Dalton Trail

did, however, increase sufficiently that a government presence was required there as well as on the Chilkoot. An official "topographical exploration" was undertaken in 1897 "of the overland route to the Yukon by way of Chilkat Pass." As the exact location of the international boundary in this area was still in dispute, a provisional boundary was agreed to "for administrative purposes," and the Northwest Mounted Police were instructed to set up an International Line Post to control the liquor traffic and enforce customs regulations. Police posts were also established at Five Fingers and Selkirk, the trans-shipping points on the Yukon River.

The record of these events is mostly contained in short items in government reports. Reference is made to boundary matters in the annual reports of the Department of the Interior for the years 1897 to 1901, usually in the form of short paragraphs that are not always easy to locate. The report on the exploration of the Chilkat Pass, by J.J. McArthur, Dominion Land Surveyor, is published in full as Lands Surveys Report No. 20 in the Annual Report for the Year 1897, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 1898.

Police reports covering this period have not been examined to date, but the annual reports of Inspector A.M. Jarvis for the period 1899 - 1902 will be assessed. Jarvis spent these years with the Dalton Post detachment. Other sources that might contain information on the Dalton Trail during this time will also be sought. To date, a rather disjointed four-page spread in The Whitehorse Star of February 14, 1966 is the principal source of information examined. This featured an article "The Dalton Trail and the Mysterious 36," by William D. MacBride, as well as miscellaneous information related to this period.

(c) Mountaineering

The pastime of climbing mountains, a sport almost incomprehensible to a non-climber, has done more than almost any other activity to draw attention to Kluane and the St. Elias Mountains. Its beginnings, in the attempts to climb Mt. St. Elias, spanned the period of the first explorations of the region and the early days of the gold rush, though its real popularity, which today is in full flood, was not reached until the 1960's.

The literature of mountain climbing in Kluane is

extensive, as mountaineers seem to also be compulsive writers, though their work is often confined to alpine journals, for the edification of fellow enthusiasts. The list that follows, therefore, is selective rather than exhaustive.

The towering bulk of Mt. St. Elias sits astride the international boundary in the southwest corner of Kluane National Park, prominently visible from the sea, and long believed to be the highest mountain in North America. It was not surprising that it became the first target in Alaska of mountaineers searching in the late nineteenth century for new fields to conquer.

The first expeditions were largely exploratory, in search of a route to the mountain itself, which in spite of its prominence from the sea is many miles inland and difficult of approach. Frederick Schwatka, an experienced northern traveller who had made the first traverse of the Yukon River from its source to its mouth in 1883, led an assault on the mountain in 1886, as leader of an expedition sponsored by The New York Times. Most of the time was spent in trying various approaches from the south and west, the most direct route, but

they did not reach the mountain itself, though they did attain an altitude of 7,300 feet, claimed rather grandiloquently "the highest climb above the snow limit ever made - a result well worth the expedition."

Besides his newspaper dispatches, Schwatka wrote a "popular" account of his experiences that appeared in Century Magazine, Vol. 41, 1891.

The next attempt was in 1888 by an English party, led by W.H. Topham, which was joined by an American climber, William Williams. They too tried the south and west approaches, but were also thwarted by the difficult terrain, though they did climb to an elevation of 11,400 feet on the mountain's southern flank.

Williams wrote an account of this expedition in Scribner's Magazine of April, 1889, while Topham in a more august atmosphere read a paper to the members of the Royal Geographic Society in April, 1889, which was later published in the Society's journal. He also wrote a longer account of his efforts for the Alpine Journal of August, 1889.

Still one more exploratory survey would have to be made to locate a feasible approach. This was discovered by Israel C. Russell and M.B. Kerr of the United States

Geological Survey in 1890, in the course of a three-month's exploration of the area sponsored by the National Geographic Society. According to the "Washington Letter" of the American Geographical Society Bulletin "The results of the expedition include the discovery of a thoroughly practicable route by which the summit can be reached; accurate measurements of glaciers and their rate of motion; geological studies of great interest; and a contour and topographic map of a hitherto unknown region more than a thousand square miles in extent." Only bad weather, which the explorers were finding to be the rule rather than the exception, prevented Russell and Kerr from reaching the summit by the route they discovered.

Russell wrote an account of these explorations that appeared in the same issue of Century Magazine in which Schwatka's article on his 1886 expedition was published. Emil Diebitsch in that same year also wrote of Russell's exploits, in a short-lived periodical known as Goldthwaite's Geographical Magazine.

Russell returned to Mt. St. Elias in 1892 to extend the work of his previous surveys, and to attempt another climb. He was able to reach 14,500 feet, and to see for the first time the jumble of peaks to the north of Mt.

St. Elias. It was an awesome sight, "a vast snow-covered region, limitless in its expanse, through which hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of barren angular mountain peaks projected. There was not a stream, not a lake, and not a trace of vegetation of any kind in sight." The report of this work appeared in Century Magazine, Vol. 44, 1892.

The stage was now set for the final assault on the summit, which was made in 1897 by a well-organized Italian party led by Prince Luigi, Duke of Abruzzi. The best account of this success is a well-written book by L. Amedo, The Ascent of Mount St. Elias (Alaska), that was published in London in 1900. The book also contains an excellent summary of the previous attempts to reach the peak. A shorter account of the climb by C.W. Thornton, a member of an American team that tried unsuccessfully to reach the summit that same year, appeared in Overland Monthly, Vol. XXXI, April, 1898. An account of the climb by one of the Italian party, Fillippa de Fillippi, which appeared in the Alpine Journal of May, 1898, has not yet been assessed. A rather flowery summary of the "geographical work" of the Duke of the Abruzzi was published posthumously in the journal of the Royal Geographic Society in 1933.

It was the 1920's before Russell's tantalizing glimpse of the heart of the St. Elias Range was acted upon, and a climb of Mt. Logan was organized. A dream for many years of the Alpine Club of Canada, once Logan's eminence among all the mountains of the area was established, a reconnaissance of the area was undertaken in 1924, in order to establish a possible route, and the climb itself was successfully accomplished in 1925 in the face of frightful weather conditions by a team led by A.H. McCarthy. Two accounts of this memorable climb are available: one by W.W. Foster, who ram-rodded the expedition, which appeared in the The Mountaineer, Vol. XVIII, No. 1., December 1925; and one by H.F. Lambart, the deputy leader of the party, in The National Geographic Magazine, Vol. XLIX, No. 6., June, 1926. Foster's is a somewhat emotional account, composed in the heat of the moment of accomplishment; Lambart, a land surveyor, wrote more detachedly, and with the benefit of a few months of retrospect.

The slackening of interest in the depression and during the war years is reflected in the paucity of literature for this period. Once again The National Geographic Society contributed to the knowledge of the region by sponsoring the National Geographic Society

Yukon Expedition of 1935, led by a man whose fame as a mountaineer was just beginning, Bradburn Washburn. The purpose was to effect a crossing of the St. Elias range and to map from the Alaskan boundary to the Alsek River. This was one of the first exploring parties to use aircraft for logistic support, though the low-powered planes of the day were not able to operate at very high elevations, and much backpacking was still necessary. A very readable account by Washburn of the accomplishments of this expedition appeared in the June, 1936, issue of The National Geographic Magazine, under the title "Exploring Yukon's Glacial Stronghold."

There was relatively little climbing in the St. Elias during the remainder of the '30s, and only one climb during World War II, which was entirely supported by military air drops. By the '50s a few civilians were back in the area: Richard McGowan wrote of the "Mt. Logan-Cook Expedition, 1953" in the American Alpine Journal, 1954; while in 1958 Gilbert Roberts Jr., a member of a climbing party that operated on a "majority rule" basis with no formal leader, described in In the Mountain World a climb of Mt. Logan by a new eastern route. Karl Ricker in the Canadian Alpine Journal,

Vol. XLIII, 1958, told of "The All Canadian Mt. Logan Expedition," a shoe string operation whose members had to hitch-hike the Alaska Highway to arrive at their starting point, but which nevertheless reached the summit.

By the 1960's climbs in the St. Elias were becoming almost commonplace, but two of them were of historic significance. In January, 1965, the Canadian government decided that an unnamed mountain peak in the St. Elias Range, close to the international boundary, would be called Mt. Kennedy, after John F. Kennedy, the assassinated American president. That summer it was climbed by a party that included U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy, the president's brother, and which for a time focussed world attention on the Yukon Territory. The events of this rather moving fraternal tribute were told in a three-part article in the National Geographic of July, 1965, of which Part III "The First Ascent" by James W. Whittaker described the climb.

Public attention was also attracted to the St. Elias area by the Yukon Alpine Centennial Expedition of 1967. One of the more imaginative events of the centennial celebrations, this project involved the climbing of 12

peaks by teams from each province and territory, and also an ascent by four Americans and four Canadians of the highest unclimbed peak on the Alaska-Yukon border. Expedition Yukon, written by the leader of each team and edited by W. Fisher, was published by Thos. Nelson and Sons (Canada) in 1971 to record the story of these events. Included was a useful capsule history of mountaineering in the St. Elias Mountains by another veteran of the area, Walter A. Wood.

Two examples of present-day expeditions in the mountains were also reviewed and assessed. An account of a climb of Mt. Bona and Mt. Tressider, made in 1969, was published by Joseph C. Labelle in Summit, Vol. 16, September, 1970, under the rather jaunty title "A Caper in the St. Elias Mountains." A contemporary account of a ski tour in the area, a "good, fun, beautiful trip," made almost on impulse, was Wayne P. Merry's "Across Glaciers on Skis: Touring in Canada's Kluane National Park," which appeared in an issue Backpacker not yet identified. This is a delightful and well-written article, and a good indication of the recreational possibilities of the Kluane region.

One outgrowth of the mountaineering activities was

a growing use of this high alpine country as a laboratory for related field research. The first such program, named "Project Snow Cornice," was initiated by Walter A. Wood of the Arctic Institute of North American on Seward Glacier, and is described in Arctic, Vol. 1, 1948. This project was eventually succeeded by the Icefield Ranges Research Project, and accounts of two aspects of this work appeared in The Canadian Geographical Journal of March, 1975: L. Hancock's "Medical Research at 17,400 Feet," and Gerald Holdsworth's "Taking the Measure of Mount Logan." Numerous reports of other projects undertaken as part of this program have been published under academic auspices, but these have not yet been seen or assessed.

Finally, one other somewhat mad feat that was accomplished in this area is noteworthy, though it had no connection with mountaineering. This was the first - and as yet only - descent of the whole length of the Alsek River by kayak, which was made single-handedly by Walt Blackadar in 1971. His story of this accomplishment appeared in the August 14, 1972, issue of Sports Illustrated under the title "Caught Up in a Hell of White Water." An earlier descent of the river made in 1970, which por-

tagged around the worst of the white water, Turnback Canyon, was described by Richard Tero in the Alaska Magazine of March, 1971.

(d) Boundary Surveys

The geographic boundaries of Kluane Park are coincident on its west and south sides to portions of the Alaska-Yukon and the B.C.-Yukon boundaries, and details of the location of these boundaries, therefore, are an intrinsic part of its story. Two major reports by the International Boundary Commission describe these surveys, concealing in a dry recital of facts and statistics the very hard work and considerable achievements that the carrying out of this task entailed. The reports are Establishment of the Boundary ... Arctic Ocean to Mount St. Elias, published in 1918, and Establishment of the Boundary ... Tongass Passage to Mount St. Elias., published in 1952. Similarly, an account of the survey of the provincial portion of boundary is found in Report of the Commission Appointed to Delimit the Boundary Between the Province of British Columbia and the Yukon and Northwest Territories, which was released in 1966.

These official documents have not yet been examined in connection with this review, and the 1918 report is

in fact out of print. However, this deficiency will be rectified before the completion of the task, and an attempt will be made to obtain related and possibly livelier data from other sources.

(e) Big Game Hunting

Before World War II and the establishment of the Kluane Game Sanctuary, there was some big game hunting in the Kluane region, but the resulting literature was far from being as voluminous as that produced by the St. Elias mountaineers. Three books have been summarized as part of this project, but though they contain kernels of interesting information, some of the hunting methods described are not particularly sportsmanlike, and much of their writing consists of boastful inventories and measurements of trophies killed.

Camp Fires in the Yukon by Harry A. Auer was published by Stewart and Kidd Company in Cincinnati in 1916, and described in diary form a hunt that took place in 1914. The story as a result is factual and precise, confines itself almost entirely to the daily activities of the party, and to such items as a list of recommended personal gear suitable for the country, and a detailed description of a moose drive organized by the party that

was based on "lion-hunting methods in vogue in East Africa." A long Appendix contains observations on the game species of the area. One of the few departures from the hunting routine is a mention of the remains of Indian caribou fences seen along the Dezadeash River.

G.O. Young wrote of a 1919 hunt in Alaskan Trophies Won and Lost, which was published in Boston in 1928. In spite of the title, this trip was not confined to Alaska; it originated in McCarthy, Alaska, but crossed to the headwaters of the White River, and left the country by this route, and the guide was Morley Bones, a native of Kluane. Once again, the descriptions of their stalks and kills or misses are factual and soon become repetitive. Far more interesting is the account of their attempt to travel down the White River by boat, which was eventually wrecked with the loss of many of their trophies and supplies. Bones played a heroic part in this mishap, and later returned to the scene of the wreck and spent 33 days in a futile search for any of the items lost in the river.

A third trip was made in 1918 by J.A. McGuire, and its story was published in 1921, also by Stewart and Kidd Company, under the title In the Alaska-Yukon Gamelands.

This hunt originated in Whitehorse and ended in McCarthy, covering much of the same country as did Young. Though it was organized by the Colorado Museum of Natural History, its members displayed no interest in collecting or research, but only in obtaining trophies. McGuire was very disapproving of the few hunting restrictions that were in force; he favoured unlimited killing of the large brown bears, and of eagles "considering the great menace they are to young game, especially lambs and kids."

(F) Mining

This is an area in which a literature search has not yet been undertaken, except for snippets of information gleaned from Department of the Interior reports, or from the microfilmed files of the local Whitehorse newspaper. Written information on this subject seems to be scarce, however, as prospectors, unlike mountain climbers, are generally taciturn by nature. The field reports of the Geological Survey of Canada have not yet been examined, and though these tend to be technical in content and generally almost incomprehensible to the layman, their introductory and descriptive paragraphs often contain useful information relating to the area being studied. Fortunately, the relevant reports of the Survey concerned

with early mining in the Yukon have been assembled by H.S. Bostock and reprinted in one volume titled Yukon Territory: Selected Field Reports of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1898 to 1933. This was published by the Queen's Printer in Ottawa in 1957, and will be assessed as soon as a copy is obtained.

(g) The Construction of the Alaska Highway

To date only one book dealing with this subject has been examined: Crooked Road: The Story of the Alaska Highway, by David A. Remley, published by McGraw-Hill in 1976. This is a curiously disjointed book, as the author seems uncertain whether this is an account of the building of a road, or a sociological treatise on the Alaska Highway corridor. The result is an untidy mish-mash of opinion, fact, and first-person narration that leaves the impression that the Yukon is a land of fireweed and sunsets, inhabited only by drifters or truck drivers. This book was touted before it appeared as the definitive history of the highway - that it is not! This is an area in which more work obviously remains to be done by the researcher.

The microfilmed "U.S. Army Northwest Service Command Records" recently placed in the Yukon Archives have

not yet been examined; neither has an unpublished manuscript by Julie Cruikshank: "Alaska Highway Construction: A Preliminary Evaluation of Social Impacts on Yukon Indians," which was completed in June 1977.

(h) The Experimental Farm

The experimental farm at Mile 1019, near Haines Junction on the Alaska Highway, has been for the postwar years a familiar highway landmark for Yukoners and a surprise to first-time travellers, who did not expect to encounter open pasture land, grazing cattle, chicken houses and garden plots in these northern latitudes. Because of the very minor impact of agriculture on the Territory, however, not too much was known of the work being done there, and the final closing of the station in 1970 met with only token protest. Nonetheless, progress was made in the costly and unspectacular field of northern agricultural research. The record is in the Progress Reports, the Research Hi-Lites, and the special bulletins that were issued during the life of the establishment.

Progress Report 1945-52 is in effect a history of the beginnings of the farm and its initial programs. It tells of the problems of obtaining agricultural machinery

during the war; of the chore of clearing land; of the first log buildings and the more substantial structures that succeeded them; and of the start of research in animal husbandry, cereals, field husbandry, forage, horticulture and poultry. Successive reports, such as Progress Report 1953-1959, and Research Report 1960-1964, served to update the progress of these programs, as did the periodical reports on research highlights. A special bulletin Gardening in the Yukon was published in 1963, and a Yukon Horticultural Guide released locally in zeroxed form had full instructions on the preparation of a lawn in the Whitchorse area. This became the bible of home owners wishing to improve the appearance of their properties, and had an impressive impact on the community.

The whole program is well summarized in an unpublished paper "Agricultural Research Activity in the Yukon Territory," completed in January 1977 by Susan Tsukamoto as part of the History of the Canadian North series of Brandon University.

(i) Planning a National Park

As already pointed out, the investigation of the possibilities of a national park in Yukon began almost

as soon as the Alaska Highway provided access. Once the initial reconnaissance and recommendations were made, however, the development and implementation of the concept was not a rapid process.

The highlights of the planning are once again found in government reports that in this case are largely unpublished working papers. The detailed report prepared by James Smart of the Parks Bureau was one of these, its content being largely indicated by its jawbreaker title: "Report of field investigations of the proposed National Park in the Kluane Lake and St. Elias Mountain Reservation, Yukon Territory, and Scenic and Recreational interests along the Alaska Highway, Summer 1943." Smart was enthusiastic about the country from Haines Junction to Kluane Lake, which he describes as "the most outstanding scenery on the entire Alaska Highway," and he felt that "undoubtedly this section of the Park area along Kluane Lake presents the best chance of establishing an attractive tourist centre."

It was not until 1958 that the National Park Branch received authority to select a survey team to examine specific Yukon sites, and a reconnaissance was undertaken that summer by Lyle G. Ward of the Engineering Services

Division and William A. Fuller of the Canadian Wildlife Service. Most of the investigation was carried out jointly, but Ward and Fuller issued separate reports. Though the philosophical approach of the two men was quite different, the conclusion of each was the same: that out of five locations that they were instructed to examine - Dezadeash, Donjek, Wheaton River, Slim's River, and the McArthur Range - Dezadeash was the favoured area for a park development. These reports - Ward's "Report on National Park Survey Yukon Territory," and Fuller's "Yukon National Park Survey, July - August, 1958." - were also working papers that were the basis for the concepts that were subsequently developed and ultimately realized.

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